13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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Pangai

of the second group anything from 10s to £1 per year. 434
Owing to various factors governing the export of Tongan 439
bananas, not only from Tonga as a whole, but also from Vava'u in particular, these "most favourable circumstances" are more often conspicuously absent than inconspicuously present.

Two trading-stations are maintained in Pangai. They 439
are owned by two of the trading-stores in Neiafu. The 443
storekeeper of each station lives in Pangai. He draws a 434
small monthly wage and is responsible for cash-sales at the station as well as the buying of green copra at prices set by the Neiafu principals, and the drying of this green copra on the station drying platforms. In 1938, according to figures [433)
supplied by the Neiafu owners of these two village-stations, about 115 tons of copra were produced by Pangai village. [435)
This was valued according to prices then ruling at about £430. The total village-income from copra production for that year was therefore about this sum. Again, according to figures given by the trading-stores, the cash sales for the year 1938 made by these two Pangai stations totalled just over £306.[15] This last figure does not, of course, cover the total store expenditure of the Pangai people. Some few of [574)
them occasionally go to Neiafu to visit friends or relatives. They then take the opportunity to spend what cash they have available in the larger stores where they can gaze upon shelves and shelves full of merchandise and groceries to their hearts' content and for the consideration of some minor purchase.

The two village-stations give credits according to the 443
discretion of their managers. That this involves risks and 452
necessitates good judgment is suggested by the fact that 439
during the auction of the stocks and assets of one large store in Neiafu that had closed down, more than £1,000 worth of book debts were sold for £5. The opening bid was

[15] From the viewpoint of personality study we would still be [124)
interested to know why the Tongan manager of one of these village-stations produced at our request, and after the most herculean labours, an itemized account of store sales which purported to show that his store did a cash-business of well over £1,000 for the year 1938 when the books of the European owner of the business showed cash sales of £1461 Very likely our good Tongan friend was dreaming of the day when he was going to be the owner of the largest store in Neiafu.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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5/-. It was only by tremendous effort that the auctioneer was able to increase the opening bid to twenty times its amount. This is not to be taken as implying in any way that Tongans are dishonest in money matters. They are just carelessly easy-going where money is concerned. Store-keeping in Tonga therefore, is perhaps fraught with more hazards than is usual elsewhere.

The itemized list of sales from the more reliable of the two native store managers in Pangai shows that about forty different articles were sold during the year. Table 9 shows the items of western European material culture that are significant to the culture of the Pangai villager today.

TABLE 9.—STORE SALES

Article	Percentage of Total Sales	Group Percentage of Total Sales
Canned meats	21	
Flour	14	
Sugar	11	70
Tobacco	10	
Piece-goods	7	
Soap	7	
Kerosene	5	
Fishlines	5	
Fishhooks	2	20
Canned fish	3	
Shirts	3	
Bushknives	2	
Matches, rope, crockery Singlets (vests), lanterns	Each item small	5
Spades, candy, blue Groceries (cocoa, canned milk, coffee, jam) Cotton thread Teething-powder	Each item very small	4
Ink, pencils, slate-pencils Buckets, tubs, umbrellas Needles	Each item smaller	1

This table lists materials and foods according to percentages based on volume of sales. This does not of course necessarily correspond to the value or status-position of these articles or goods in the lives of the villagers. Piece-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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which this would have entailed. The cue given by Tukuaho was a useful one, and for the present I became to the Tongans not a Minister of the Crown, but "*Koe tagata fakahinohino*" (The expounder—of the dark ways of civilised man).

The Privy Council over, we had time to look about us. The island at this point is barely half a mile wide: every rood of it seems to be under cultivation, from the back of the town to the edge of the rocks on the Liku upon which the ocean-rollers, driven before the steady trade-wind, beat unceasingly. The Europeans of the place live in a row of stores on the beach, each hungry for copra, each fearing to give the natives credit, yet not daring to refuse lest they take their custom to a neighbour; and each, when he has given credit, mortified by seeing his debtor pass his store to sell his copra to a hated rival. There is the agent of the great Hamburg firm, the agent for M'Arthur & Co., a free-lance or two, a carpenter, and the Customs officer of the port, who brings up a large family on £100 a-year. The only friendships in this heterogeneous society are mere alliances against a common foe, and as they are all by instinct against the Government, and can now have the exciting sport of setting the king against his Ministers, there is something very like reconciliation among them.

On Sunday we went to church in a driving rain-storm, but, notwithstanding the weather, the little building was filled. The women in their native finery looked infinitely more respectable than their brothers and husbands, who had donned threadbare coats and trousers in honour of the day, but had stopped short of shoes. The king was

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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652 436 which, when countersigned by Mr Baker as Auditor-General, became virtually a floating paper currency until redeemed by presentation at the head-treasury. Let us trace the career of one of these "Treasury Orders" now before me. It was drawn on January 7, 1889, in favour of Sekonaia Tuuhetoka for 27 dollars, probably a quarter's rent of one of the leases in Haapai, since it is indorsed "Department of Leases." It bears Mr Baker's signature lithographed, besides Sateki's name as *Minisita Peimasita* (Minister Paymaster), and S. E. W. Baker's as clerk to the Premier. [452] Tuuhetoka has long ago forestalled this money at the nearest store, and he hands over the "Treasury Order" towards the reduction of his score, in the hope that it may so far soften the heart of the merchant as to procure fresh credit for him. In March the storekeeper buys a cartload of copra from a native, and tenders Tuuhetoka's "Treasury Order" in payment; and a week later the man hands it to the tax clerk in settlement of his poll-tax, now two years in arrear. It is written in the law that the sub-treasurers shall not cash "Treasury Orders," but it is nowhere forbidden to receive them as revenue. So the clerk gives him a receipt in full for his taxes, and the revenue-books show the country to be 27 dollars richer for the worthless paper which has never been debited as expenditure. Then the Premier's descent upon the sub-treasury is made, and the "Treasury Order" finishes its mendacious career in the wastepaper-basket in Nukualofa. Sometimes a "Treasury Order," eight years old, was presented for payment, grimy and frayed from wandering from hand to hand in some distant island, but the finances were conducted on too large a scale to be disturbed by such trifles.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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arranged spectacles, was kept until the end. A band of men and women would come up together and walk round and round the basin, each throwing in a threepenny piece as he passed. After a few rounds a man whose stock of coins was exhausted would fall out, and the procession continued without him. Then only two were left to circle round each other in a sort of dance, amid deafening applause. At last one of the survivors gave out, and the victor was left alone to stand before the basin and chuck in his coins from a distance. He was the hero of the day.

Behind the pulpit were the tables of the money-changer, who, so far from being driven out of this temple, was considered necessary to its very existence, being, in fact, the missionary himself. The mode of collection demanded a larger stock of small coins than was obtainable at the local stores, and as every contributor was encouraged to enlighten his right hand as to the doings of his left, the smaller coins are made to do double duty. When the congregation would no longer respond to the taunts or the entreaties of the basin-man, the contents of the basin were counted and dumped upon the money-changer's table, thus supplying him with change to satisfy the requirements of the contributors whose turns were yet to come.

In the palmy days of the Wesleyan mission, when Mr Baker was still the trusted shepherd of an undivided flock, the mission treasury was filled by a system for the ingenuity of which I believe he deserves the entire credit. In the hysterical enthusiasm so cleverly fostered by the missionaries, the natives were quite ready to mortgage their crops for the brief glory of surpassing their neigh-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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796 794 797 452 hours; but it was thought that if the missionaries themselves advanced the money and afterwards sued their debtors in the courts when the excitement of the collection had had time to cool down, adverse criticism, and perhaps even the resentment of the faithful, might be aroused. So Mr Baker entered into an unholy alliance with Messrs Ruge & Co., a German firm newly arrived in the group. The agents of the firm were to advance cash to any native who wanted it for the church collections on promissory notes, to be repaid in copra when the crop was ripe; and as the firm had not sufficient coin to satisfy all comers, the mission was to hand back the coin to the agents as fast as it was collected, taking bills on Sydney in exchange. Thus the firm secured a lien on all the future crop, to the exclusion of its rivals, the mission trebled its collections, and when the bills became due, it was the German firm who incurred the obloquy of haling the over-generous debtor before the court, and of selling up his live stock and furniture. The complacency of the courts might be counted on, for the chairman of the mission was also the unofficial adviser of the Government. Strange stories of the *fakamisonali* of those days were told to the Commission of Enquiry sent to investigate Mr Baker's proceedings —how, when the trading agent at the church door dared not advance any more cash, the disappointed native would rush back to the basin, stripping off his coat as he ran, and fling it in to win one more yell of applause from his excited fellow-worshippers.

796 794 These more picturesque incidents have now given place to sober business. When the basins had drained the congregation of all their cash, the contents were quickly

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[For information on mutual savings clubs, sometimes referred to as "rotating credit associations", see Categories 454 and 456.]

443 built a store and hired one of the villagers to run it. In about 1925 the third store was built and run by a villager, and twice since that time other villagers have maintained stores. There have been five stores since 1908 but none has run concurrently with any other, and the presence of at least one store has been nearly continuous. This time distribution might be evidence that more than one store could not be supported by the village.

443 438 [464] The current store owner has a full-time wage labor job in Nuku'alofa and gardens for most of his family's food; his wife runs the store. The store is not kept open continuously but is opened at almost any time a customer wishes to make a purchase except on Sundays. Merchandise is [494] [493] acquired at larger stores in Nuku'alofa in small enough quantities so that the owner may transport them from Nuku'alofa by bicycle. The inventory consists primarily of sugar, flour, tinned meat and fish, candies, tabacco products, and a number of small household items such as batteries, thread, razor blades, and needles. Two other important items are kerosene and soap products.

[452] The store owner allows credit purchases for some members of the community up to a maximum of $T5.00. Store inventory fluctuates considerably and villagers do not rely upon it for that reason they buy large proportions of goods at larger stores in Nuku'alofa. An analysis of buying patterns for twenty households using sample A showed that 6.65 percent of the goods purchased were purchased at the local store.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1876-1890]

preparatory meetings with boasting of what would be given at the annual missionary meetings. The gifts were always announced publicly. Baker added a method of piecemeal continued giving, an elimination process for the honour and glory of the last survivors. Basil Thomson's descriptions of missionary collections in his day (1890), both Free Church and Wesleyan, were truthful, despite humourous exaggerations.[26] It was an open competition in a circus-like atmosphere, entirely out of keeping with a religious setting.

In spite of the adverse publicity from "The Earl and the Doctor", the Missionary Committee reacted in a manner favourable to Baker and confirmed him in the chairmanship when he feared that it might have been given to his rival, Moulton. Baker had visited Sydney at that time (1873), and the Missionary Committee resolved that,

> "Having heard the statements of the Rev. S. W. Baker relative to the unexampled financial and spiritual prosperity of the Mission in the Friendly Islands District, [it] records its thankfulness to God for His abundant blessing upon the missionaries and their work." (27)

Fortified with this eulogy, Baker repressed any desire to return to a ministry in Australia in 1873 and set out to raise ever larger sums. He developed a special technique for giving credit in advance. This became notorious, with the German firm of Godeffroy having a monopoly of the copra from the collections. Sometimes a representative of the firm stood at the church door to make these advance payments against the copra to be sold later. Many of the debts would have been unmanageable in any case, and when a hurricane or a drought occurred many people failed to meet their obligations to Godeffroy. Distress warrants were taken out in many cases. Moulton was most critical of these practices. So was George Minns, who bemoaned also the contrast between spiritual deadness and booming collections. To Chapman on 26 January 1874, Minns wrote:

> "Our success is represented by £ s d. The disparity between our finances and our spirituality is so great that I cannot find sufficient courage to address a letter to the 'Missionary Notices'. . . . The Missionary affair [= collections] is in a large measure the effect of excitement and will collapse . . . Let us wait a few years longer for there are great difficulties ahead." (28)

Sir Charles Mitchell, High Commissioner, in his report to the British Parliament in 1887, criticized the Mission and stressed the king's resentment at the large sums going out of the country. Actually, some of the money was being banked in Sydney for the Tonga Jubilee Fund. Also, it was Baker himself who was responsible for this financial policy.

Mr. E. L. Layard, appointed as British Consul for Fiji and Tonga, visited Nuku'alofa in February 1876, and he at once received an avalanche of complaints from European residents, many of them disreputable beachcombers, and some of them rivals of the German firm. Baker declared that some of those who signed a petition to Layard had been cured of venereal disease by him.[29] On the basis of these complaints, Layard made many charges to Sir Arthur Gordon, alleging that Baker was "a trader in disguise", "the virtual ruler of Tonga", using his power

> "not for the good of the natives but actually for his own aggrandizement and enrichment, and to the detriment and possible banishment of every white man except his own special party from the Islands". (30)

Layard alleged that Baker was being well paid for his medical work. He added an absurd story about the people in the southernmost remote island of 'Ata

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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(Pylstaart) being brought to 'Eua for the convenience of the missionaries whereas in fact the king had brought them to Tongatapu and 'Eua because of "the vile traffic of the whalers with the women of the island",[31] and the depradations of blackbirders who took the inhabitants to guano digging and sugar planting in Peru and Chile where some, unfortunately, died. Baker had no difficulty in showing the falsity of statements of this nature.

Sir Arthur Gordon did not attach much weight to many of Layard's charges. In regard to one, that Ma'afu of Fiji should be the heir-apparent instead of 'Unga, Gordon was satisfied that 'Unga was properly the heir. Summing up, Gordon considered the only justifiable grounds for complaint against Baker were two, his political activities and his excessive fund-raising efforts.[32] Baker was to hear more about these — but not from the discredited Consul Layard. On Gordon's recommendation, the Earl of Carnarvon, Colonial Secretary, and Lord Derby, Foreign Secretary, refused to take any action against Baker on Layard's charges.[33] Not only did Baker succeed in refuting these but he regarded 1876, the Jubilee year, as the high-water mark in the history of the Mission, and proudly recorded that, as well as the large financial contributions,

> "we have had a glorious revival, upwards of 600 have joined the Church, upwards of 60 Papists have turned over; never has Tonga had such a glorious revival." (34)

It was significant that, up to this stage, Baker was supported by Frederick Langham, veteran missionary and influential Chairman of the Fiji District. He protested against Layard not informing Baker that he was laying charges.[35] Langham believed that Gordon was moved by a desire to have Baker out of the way lest his pro-German policy injure British interests in Fiji and the whole area. Langham, in writing to Chapman, 28 June 1878, added:

> "I reminded him (Gordon) that he had told me that, if Mr. Baker were not removed from Tongatapu, he would have to take some action." (36)

Greater pressure was exerted against Baker when Maudslay arrived in June 1878 as Deputy Commissioner and Vice-Consul. From the outset, Maudslay was prejudiced. He soon began investigating the missionary's conduct in both political and financial affairs. Naturally, Baker resented Maudslay's inquiries; he even preached against him from the pulpit, warning the people to ignore him, from the text, "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you . . . ?" (Galatians iii. 1).

Maudslay had the assistance of another officer of the Fiji Government, David Wilkinson, who was a practising member of the Wesleyan Church and respected by the Chairman of the Fiji District, Langham. Wilkinson became very critical of Baker. He told Langham that some Tongans, unable to pay their debts to Godeffroy after the collections, had lost their goods, sold at ridiculous prices; and this had occurred after drought and hurricane had reduced them to abject poverty.[37] Maudslay and Wilkinson, in their visits to villages, met with difficulty in securing witnesses because Baker was dismissing from office in the Church those who gave them information. Wilkinson wrote to Langham:

> "He is pursuing so tyrannical a course towards natives and all he regards as his enemies and threatens the utmost pains and punishment to those who gave us information." (38)

Wilkinson, "as a Wesleyan", asked Maudslay to suspend action against Baker pending an approach to the Missionary Committee to remove him. Langham wrote to Wilkinson objecting to Baker not being given an opportunity to defend himself against the allegations; nevertheless, Langham added:

> "But, after taking all these things into consideration and giving them due weight, there still remains a feeling of uneasiness and an apprehension that there may be something underlying it all." (39)

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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Gordon's attitude had changed since discounting Layard's charges in 1876. 797
On the strength of what had happened since then and from his own observation when visiting Tonga in 1878, he was more ready to listen to Maudslay's allegations. About the general state of Tonga (including resentment against the sumptuary and other laws which were modified afterwards, in 1879), Gordon wrote:

> "I neither asked questions nor sought complaints, but I left Tonga with the conviction . . . that I have seldom seen a population so deeply and profoundly disturbed or where there was cause to fear a sudden and lamentable uprising against a system the pressure of which was too heavy to be borne." (40) [181]

The inflated collections and the use of money advanced by the German firm formed Maudslay's main charge against Baker. Inordinately large sums had been taken from all parts of Tonga, even the remote island of Niua Fo'ou which could hardly expect to receive much in return. In Tongatapu distress warrants had been 452 685
taken out by Godeffroy against the heaviest debtors, and this in spite of hurricanes in 1876 and 1877 sorely afflicting the people. These warrants greatly embarrassed Baker who had been absent in Auckland while houses and goods were being sold on court orders. He was so concerned about the people's plight that he took money from the 1876 Jubilee Fund lying in the bank in Sydney to pay some of these debts.(41) [797]

Maudslay thought he had collected enough evidence to enable the High 797
Commissioner to exercise against Baker the power given by an ordinance to remove a British subject who was disturbing the peace of a community such as Tonga. Gordon, however, was not only uncertain of the wisdom of doing this but he did not want to incur the odium likely to follow. He preferred that the Church itself should remove Baker although he indicated that, if the Church did not, he would be obliged to remove him.(42)

Baker felt the growing seriousness of his position and suggested to Chapman that it might be better for him to go to England or America where he "could do good service as a deputation for Missions" (13 July 1878).(43) Even if that was not his fixed intention, he certainly felt that he must leave Tonga. On 30 October 1878 he wrote to Chapman:

> "May I ask you, after my Consul's case is over, to ask permission for me to return next Conference. 1880 . . . I hope you will excuse my putting it so strongly, but I must return in April 1880." (44)

Baker's colleagues in Tonga at that time, Watkin and Minns, believed that Maudslay was pushing his case against Baker too far. They also thought that the Church courts were the proper place for investigating the complaints. Although Minns had been very critical of Baker's conduct, he wrote to Chapman on 1 September 1878 about Maudslay's charges:

> "This thing must be settled once and for all. . . . The reputation of the Church and prosperity of the Mission must stand before any consideration for Mr. Baker's comfort. . . . Mr. Baker never needed a friend more than now and, so far as I can, I will help him out of these difficulties. I am truly sorry for him." (45)

Even Moulton wrote to Baker (22 November 1878):

> "I cannot describe how anxious I am that you should be fully acquitted of blame by your brethren after full and honest investigation. These persistent charges must be silenced." (46)

This statement may have come from a generous impulse but it is at variance with Moulton's messages at other times. Gordon was on leave in England at that time; Moulton was there on his translation work. Moulton wrote to Chapman, on 30 January 1879:

/244 cont./

454 [436] [422] [181] [179] [652] [453] however, represent a very small minority with an "un-Tongan business sense."--It is quite interesting that a larger group of Tongans, such as probably exists from what has just been said, seems to have taken over the European habit of money-saving, for at the end of 1951 the Government Savings Bank /cited in English/ reported 6134 savings accounts with deposits of 181,611£T. (649)

649. Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951. p. 11.

However, it is more a matter of "safe-keeping of sums of money for a limited time: than a "continuous accumulation of deposits," for in the same year the withdrawals exceeded the deposits.

452 426 There is no real indebtedness among the Tongans, for shopkeepers throughout the Archipelago today sell mostly for cash. Only a few Tongan grocers on the smaller islands sell goods on credit. But they [671] demand of those countrymen, who /245/ seem to them unreliable, securities (for example, valuable mats); it also happens that natives pawn coconut harvests and other plantation products, though this is forbidden by law.

436 177 178 182 Money has had a certain negative influence on the social life of the Tongans inasmuch as some natives have gone over to selling food and other things to their countrymen, which were formerly, as a matter of principle, given them without direct quid pro quo. Some [425] Tongans even take advantage of the old traditional system of "anticipated reciprocity" by asking their neighbors for something and receiving this "for nothing," according to the old custom, while they themselves fulfill similar wishes only against payment in money. Another case is that of S.M. on Nomuka who immediately pays for everything he requests and receives from his neighbors, in order to avoid the obligation of having to give something himself, the next time, without being repaid. Thus money can have an alienating effect